MOTHER EARTH

Vol. V DECEMBER, 1910 No. 10

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MOTHER EARTH

Monthly Magazine Devoted to Social Science and Literature

Published Every 15th of the Month

EMMA GOLDMAN, Proprietor, 210 East Thirteenth Street, New York, N. Y.
Entered as second-class matter April 9, 1906, at the post office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of Congress of March 3, 1879.

Vol. V **DECEMBER, 1910** **No. 10**

OBSERVATIONS AND COMMENTS

THE tragedy of a genius towering above its contemporaries does not end with death. The latter merely helps to accentuate more forcibly the insurmountability of inherent contrasts.

The thinker most beloved and esteemed, or hated and feared, during life, only too often runs the risk of being submerged, after death, in the mire of hypocritical sycophancy, of literary parasitism, by lickspittles and tyrants.

Leo Nikolaievitch Tolstoy could not escape this fate. Numerous shady characters are now making haste to bask in the sun of this world-genius. Even the progrom horde in the reactionary Duma has suspended for a whole week its henchmen's activities. Aye, the hyena upon the throne of the Romanoffs pays homage to the memory of the sage of Yasnaya Poliana, in the hope of making the world forget the reign of the bloody Tsar.

The weight of historic traditions, every-day custom, and of materialistic fatalism rests heavily upon man. Our ablest and greatest minds are growing ever more insistent in their opposition to these crushing burdens. They are pointing to the path of liberation, towards a new social life for enslaved and outraged humanity.

Leo Nikolaievitch Tolstoy was one of the world's great few. But the materialists of history, the apologists of political and spiritual compromise, the deniers of truth undaunted, could see naught in him but the eccentric, the world-alien.

Were the life and work of Tolstoy merely that of the poet and artist, his pygmy critics would have burned incense of glory upon his altar, in the hope that the divine fire would veil their own mediocrity.

The eye of the visionary saw through the flimsy fabric

of our so-called culture and its shallow tinsel,—art for art's sake. That, together with the profound realization of life's real purpose, made of Leo Tolstoy the prophet of a new era, a molder of tremendous power.

Like all great pathfinders, he, too, wrestled with his life in its inharmonious setting. We can but dimly surmise the intense soul struggle that must have been his. Its culminating moment was no doubt expressed in Leo Tolstoy's final departure from home. The sombre figure of eighty-two, tramping the beloved Russian soil, in search for peace and harmony, only to meet the inevitable master, Death. Yet the prophet's clear voice continues to knock at the world's conscience, calling for the realization of the truth deeply felt and boldly taught by Leo Nikolaievitch Tolstoy.

* * *

A POWERFUL protest has been inaugurated in America against the unjust and barbarous penalty of death "recommended" by the "special trial court" in the case of Dr. Denjiro Kotoku, his wife, and twenty-four other Socialists and Anarchists.

The protest movement is gradually spreading to all civilized countries. Monster meetings have been arranged in many cities of America, as well as in London, Paris, Vienna, Berlin, Rome, and other centres of culture and civilization.

Dr. Kotoku, his wife, and their friends were brought before a court specially appointed for the purpose, judged guilty of plotting against the imperial family, and sentenced to death.

Denjiro Kotoku is a man who has devoted himself to intellectual pursuits, and has tried to popularize western thought in Japan. His "crime" consists in spreading radical ideas, and in translating the works of Karl Marx, Leo Tolstoy, Peter Kropotkin, and Michael Bakunin. As a leader of the "Left" in the social revolutionary movement of Japan, he was called the "head of the Kropotkinists." We are convinced that the charge of conspiracy against the Emperor is false.

Kotoku's condemnation marks the climax of the reaction against liberal ideas, which has taken place in Japan during the last few years. Mr. Katayama, the leader of the Socialist party in Japan, has recently pro-

tested to Western civilization against the persecutions of the Liberals in Japan.

We, the international soldiers of freedom, are not willing to have our friends in Japan fall victims to the reactionary forces. Shall the Japanese government be permitted to imitate the barbarous methods of Spain and Russia, and do to death its scholars and thinkers? We must act vigorously in the cause of humanity and civilization, and we hope that our readers will not fail to send, immediately, an urgent protest to the Japanese Ambassador, at Washington, D. C.

* * *

WE wish to call the special attention of our readers to the article of Wm. C. Owen on the situation in Los Angeles. This article, giving as impartially as possible the facts connected with the Los Angeles *Times* explosion, is sent by direction of the local branch of the Francisco Ferrer Association. The case involves free speech and the administration of justice in a matter that deeply concerns the liberal and labor movement throughout the world. As in the cases of the Chicago Anarchists and of Ferrer, snap judgment has been taken. Those against whom there was not a scintilla of evidence have been branded as malefactors, and educators presumed to be guilty of deeds with which, if such deeds actually took place, they could have had no connection.

The precedent set in the cases previously mentioned will be re-established on an even larger scale, unless prevented by a united and powerful public protest.

* * *

THE Francisco Ferrer League of Los Angeles has also taken up the work of the Anti-intervention League, because the Ferrer movement is distinctly anti-militarist, and because the increasing tendency of the United States government to interfere, by force of arms, in the affairs of weaker nations is strangling their self-development, and committing this country to imperial and military policies fatal to the now well-advanced movement for social emancipation.

Mexican slavery is only made possible by the military despotism of Diaz, and this despotism is kept in power by the aid of American capitalists and the government

of the United States. By its persecution of Mexican political refugees, and by its threat of intervention in case of a serious revolution against Diaz, the United States has exerted a vital influence for the perpetuation of Mexican slavery.

Three times during the past two years the United States government has rushed an army to the Mexican border, in order to crush the movement of Liberals against the autocrat of Mexico. Constantly during the past three years the American government, through its Secret Service, its Department of Justice, its Immigration officials, its border rangers, has maintained in the Border States a reign of terror against Mexicans, thus assisting in the extermination of political refugees of Mexico who have sought safety from the long arm of Diaz upon the soil of the "land of the free and the home of the brave."

Within Mexico there is a powerful movement to abolish slavery and peonage, and establish democratic institutions, and we believe that this movement would soon triumph if it were not interfered with by the rulers of this country.

* * *

HOW much the authorities fear the awakening of the working class is evident not only from the events in Los Angeles, but also from the attempts to suppress free speech in various Western cities. In San Diego the police prevented, by force, the holding of meetings in commemoration of the Chicago Anarchists. But the spirit of our martyred comrades is alive in the ranks of the proletariat. How prophetic were the words of August Spies: *There will come a time when our silence will be more powerful than the voices you strangle to-day.*

* * *

OUTRAGEOUS as is the attitude of the authorities in suppressing free speech, what is to be said of the present management of Cooper Union, which has assumed the rôle of amateur policeman.

The gentlemen constituting the directorium of the historic hall not only debar the Anarchists, but even refuse to rent their meeting rooms to the Francisco Ferrer Association. When we consider that Peter Cooper founded

the institute for the special purpose of affording a refuge to unpopular ideas—what retrogression! It is but another instance—as with the Nobel Prize and other similar institutions—of the noblest intentions of the founder being perverted by the sycophants in charge.

Those who are still so naïve as to place faith in "legality," have here a splendid opportunity to test in the courts whether the managers of Cooper Union are acting in conformity with the express intentions of the founder when they refuse the hall to the pioneers of a new social idea.

* * *

THE condemnation of Fred Warren, editor of the *Appeal to Reason,* to six months' imprisonment is the logical sequel to the election of Caleb Powers to Congress. The eternal fitness of things! A member of the capitalist class, who was thrice convicted for the assassination of a political opponent, is now sent to Washington to make laws for the further oppression of labor; while the editor of a workingman's paper, who exposed the methods of these political assassins, is doomed to the penitentiary. The merrier the better. The seed thus sown by the ruling class will bring a rich harvest.

* * *

ANARCHY—Absence of government; disbelief in, and disregard of, invasion and authority based on coercion and force; a condition of society regulated by voluntary agreement instead of government.

* * *

ANARCHISM—The philosophy of a new social order based on liberty unrestricted by man-made law; the theory that all forms of government rest on violence, and are therefore wrong and harmful, as well as unnecessary.

* * *

ANARCHIST—A believer in Anarchism; one opposed to all forms of coercive government and invasive authority; an advocate of Anarchy, or absence of government, as the ideal of political liberty and social harmony.

THE LOS ANGELES TIMES EXPLOSION

By WM. C. OWEN.

AT 1 o'clock, the morning of October 1, an explosion took place in the building owned and occupied by the Los Angeles *Times*. With almost incredible rapidity flames enveloped the entire building, the result being that twenty-one lives were lost and a number of workers seriously injured. A deplorable tragedy!

The *Times* had a separate establishment on San Fernando and College streets, in which it conducted a linotyping school. It had there two printing presses and a great mass of other material; and thence, with aid supplied by other papers, it issued within a few hours of the disaster its morning edition, in which it charged, in huge headlines, that its building had been dynamited by union thugs. The managing editor, Harry Andrews, immediately issued a statement which was printed in all the morning papers and read, in part, as follows: "The *Times* building was destroyed by dynamite this morning by the enemies of industrial freedom."

That same afternoon, at 3.30, Gen. Harrison Gray Otis, founder and principal owner of the *Times*, reached Los Angeles on his return from Mexico. He was met at the Arcade depot and said: "The enemies of industrial peace have blown up and burned down the *Times* building and plant."

Furthermore, Gov. J. N. Gillett gave out the following statement: "Whether guilty or not, the labor unionists will have to be blamed for the crime until shown that they are not guilty, as everything points to a desire to wipe out the property and lives of those who have been fighting against labor for years." As quickly as possible the California Press Association fell into line and passed strong resolutions denouncing the supposed dynamiters.

Naturally these various statements, made long before any investigation worthy of the name could possibly have been held, created a somewhat general impression that snap judgment was being passed; the more so as the Los Angeles *Examiner*, in its account

of the catastrophe, had the following: "W. G. Furman, a Western Union operator employed in the *Times* office, who had left the building only a few minutes before the explosion, made the statement that throughout the night the building was filled with the fumes of gas, escaping from an unknown leak, and that the fumes were so noxious that they caused considerable annoyance to the workers." The *Express* and the *Record,* afternoon papers, the first issues of which come out about noon, both urged the public to suspend its judgment.

However, that same day other things happened. Shortly before one o'clock Detective Thomas Rico, who had been detailed to guard Gen. Otis' residence, discovered a suit case hidden in the foliage surrounding the house. Slashing it open with a knife he found several sticks of dynamite and an infernal machine operated by a clock, which fortunately had stopped. At a somewhat earlier hour a similar discovery was also made in the garden of F. J. Zeehandelaar, secretary of the Merchants' and Manufacturers' Association and a gentleman even more unpopular with organized labor, if such a thing is thinkable, than is Gen. Otis himself. In that case also the clock, most fortunately, had stopped, and Mr. Rico was once more able to unwrap the package without injury to his person. Public opinion, as voiced by the papers—if it is so voiced—immediately changed. The *Express* declared next day editorially, after the discovery of the bombs, that "these outrages completely shatter the theory that the disaster might have been caused by an explosion of gas," and the *Examiner* displayed the lines: "Alleged Anarchist is caught near Otis' home. Increase the reward." Mayor Alexander also came out with this declaration: "We have investigated the destruction of the *Times* building fairly enough to satisfy ourselves beyond the faintest doubt that it was not accidental, but was the work of some person, or a number of persons." He announced further that the reward offered by the city had been increased to $10,000. Mr. Hearst also telegraphed: "The outrage is frightful, almost inconceivable, and the papers of Los Angeles should unite in posting large rewards and employing every effort

to discover the guilty scoundrels." The *Examiner* accordingly increased its offer of reward for the apprehension of the offenders to $5,000. All this happened the day after the explosion.

Nevertheless there were still skeptics who pointed to the fact that Detective Rico was an utterly discredited member of the city force, having cut the sorriest of figures under cross-examination in the recent Mexican cases. Rico is himself a Mexican. These skeptics also pointed out that the alleged discoveries were the one thing needed to assure the public that the *Times* itself was not to blame.

Resuming the bare chronicle of events to which I am endeavoring to confine myself, I find the *Herald* of October 3, under the heading "Developments of the Day," reporting thus: "Mayor Alexander asked Governor Gillett to hold the naval militia here in readiness for duty if the union men attempted a parade last night. He feared a riot. No attempt to parade was made." I may add, by way of explanation, that the *Times* explosion took place just prior to the convening in this city of the California State Federation of Labor, and that two strikes, those of the brewers and of the metal workers, have been in progress for some months. They are being fought with considerable bitterness, the City Council having passed an emergency ordinance prohibiting picketing, and many arrests having been made.

That same day the legislature at Sacramento, prejudging the case, as had become the universal fashion, voted a reward of $10,000 for the apprehension of the alleged dynamiters. The rewards offered by that date totalled $39,500. In next day's issue the *Examiner* had a flaring headline—"The greater the reward the greater the chance of capture." Meanwhile Earl Rogers—a noted criminal lawyer, whom the *Times* in earlier days denounced in the most scathing terms—and a force of detectives had been specially engaged by the Merchants' and Manufacturers' Association, and Mayor Alexander, acting for the city, had retained the famous Wm. J. Burns.

A committee of six had been appointed by the city authorities to investigate, and October 8 they pub-

lished their findings, which were to the effect that the explosion had been caused by some high form of explosive deposited in what is known as "Ink Alley," which cuts the *Times* building in half.

When one considers the gravity of the issues at stake the report returned by the committee seems to me nothing less than extraordinary. It occupied exactly forty lines in the papers, stated that the members viewed the ruins, and declared that "the testimony of eye-witnesses was also sought and taken, and diligence was used to run down all the rumors that might in any way throw light on the subject." Now, one of the most persistent rumors was that gas had been escaping for days.

The gas theory has been the one in favor with the working class, and has been expounded vigorously both by *The Citizen,* the trades union paper, and by the *People's Paper,* organ of the Socialists. In its last issue, that of October 21, *The Citizen* said: Not a thing has developed since last week's issue to change the opinion of this paper that the *Times* building was destroyed by an explosion of gas.

The *People's Paper,* which has taken throughout a most pronounced stand, expressed its views thus, in an editorial dated October 21: "In Los Angeles to-day we witness Master-class, church and press, that Holy Family of Capitalism, combined in an inhuman plot to throw the odium of violence on the militant proletariat. Illegal imprisonment, exorbitant bail, wholesale calumny and insult, have been used against the organized workers in the vain hope of breaking their ranks."

All these facts found forcible expression at the Ferrer meeting, held October 13, at which Stanley B. Wilson, editor of *The Citizen,* speaking for organized labor, declared the *Times* explosion would be proved to have been the result of an accidental gas explosion, and the suppression of free speech and distortion of facts by the daily press were denounced in the roundest terms by speaker after speaker.

In this connection I may call attention to the fact that the chairman of the Merchants' and Manufac-

turers' Association was quoted in the papers as saying: "We will never cease until the last vestige of union labor has been wiped off the Pacific Coast."

Of course, numerous arrests have been made, and there has been much indignation over the "sweating" to which Mrs. Lavin, Morris Fitzgerald, and others have been subjected by the police,—indignation that has found expression at various meetings and in letters and articles sent to papers.

Enough has ben said in this article to warrant the statement that there has been the most atrocious prejudgment on the part of the authorities and the daily press, and in conclusion I wish to emphasize the part played by certain of the local clergy.

Dr. Robert J. Burdette, pastor emeritus of the Temple Baptist Church, former newspaper man and a close ally of the *Times,* preached the funeral sermon, October 9. He scoffed deliberately at those who asked for a suspension of judgment, declaring that "to most men God gave red blood instead of ice-water for their pulsing veins and human hearts." Dr. Charles Edward Locke, of the First Methodist Church, went even farther. Before an immense congregation, October 9, he declared that "the vicious act of these murderers is the logical sequence of the incendiary and treasonable tirades of loud-mouthed Anarchists," and added: "This winter should see proper laws passed in our State against the holding of public or private meetings by these bloody enemies of the republic. Our watchword must be, 'The extermination of Anarchists and Anarchy.'" The *Times* gave this sermon a big head, which read: "Exterminate Anarchists. Dr. Locke points out danger of the brood." These amiable expressions were much commented on at the Ferrer meeting, it being pointed out that the attempt was being made in Los Angeles to establish the precedent already set in the Ferrer and Chicago Anarchists' trials.

THE KOTOKU CASE

By HIPPOLYTE HAVEL.

NO other country has made such a sudden leap from patriarchic feudalism into modern capitalist industrialism, as Japan. This unprecedented transformation has taken place within a very few decades. When, in 1804, the Russian ship "Nadejda" entered the port of Nagasaki to establish friendly relations with the legendary Empire of Nippon, the offered friendship was unceremoniously rejected. Japan would have nothing to do with the barbarians of the West. Since the massacre of the Portuguese missionaries only a small band of Dutch merchants was tolerated in the land of the Shogun. Such extreme exclusiveness, however, could not be maintained in the face of the nineteenth century. Admiral Perry succeeded in opening the country to Western trade, and within a century after the appearance of the "Nadejda," Japan stands in the forefront of "civilization"—in point of armament and ordnance her army and navy proving superior to those of Russia.

But the transformation in the industrial life of Japan has brought no blessing to her people. Here too, as everywhere, capitalism called into life the most horrible conditions. A system of exploitation, such as can hardly be paralleled in any other civilized country, is now sapping the life of the sons and daughters of the land that had once been the paradise of a happy people.

The modern globe trotter who knows of Paris only the Boulevards and is quite ignorant of the existence of the proletarian quarters, sees in his travels through Japan merely the beautiful exterior, and returns home without an inkling of the real life of the exploited masses. Artistic enthusiasts like Lafcadio Hearn, Pierre Loti, and Mme. Judith Gautier, have drawn a veil of poetry over the misery of the Japanese proletariat. But the pitiful sight of frail, delicate women and girls, whose poverty forces them to carry heavy loads of coal to the large steamers in the ports, soon dispels the poetic fancies that scintillate in the works of such writers.

Dr. Kuwada, a member of the House of Peers, describing the condition of the Japanese working men and women in the Tokio review, *Shin Koron,* says that the

treatment of the factory girls in Japan is enough to shock humanity.

There are in Japan about ten thousand factories and workshops, employing about a million laborers. Of this total about seven hundred thousand are females. As there is no law limiting the age of factory hands, almost ten per cent. of the female laborers are under fourteen years. Twenty per cent. of the girls employed in the match factories, and one per cent. of those in the glass and tobacco factories, are even under ten years. In many factories the girls are not even allowed time for meals, but are required to eat while working. Almost all cotton-spinning factories keep their looms in operation day and night. Night work, in which both male and female operatives are engaged together, is found most demoralizing. The methods of punishment are equally inhumane. The lash is employed without stint; sometimes girls are imprisoned in dark rooms, or required to work with reduced rations; in many cases their wages are so diminished by "fines" that they leave the factory penniless at the end of their contract terms. The condition of male workers is just as inhumane; that of miners beyond description.

It is but natural that such a state of affairs should have roused the conscience of the best and ablest men and women of Japan. They are raising their voice in protest against these economic horrors. Thanks to their zeal, modern revolutionary ideas, expressed through Socialism and Anarchism, are now spreading the message of international brotherhood among the oppressed and exploited masses. The very government, which during the late war permitted revolutionary literature to be distributed among the Russian captives, now finds itself face to face with the growing spirit of revolt at home.

As in most countries, there are also in Japan several tendencies of Socialist thought: Marxists, represented by the able Mr. Katayama, and the Anarchists or "Kropotkinists," also known as the "Allied Socialists," whose ablest exponent is Denjiro Kotoku. The movement as a whole is naturally still very weak. It was the war with Russia which furnished the proper leaven for its growth,

speedily, however, drawing down upon itself the persecution of the government.

The reaction has reached its strongest expression under the régime of the present Premier, Baron Katsura. A man reared in the *junker* spirit of militarist Prussia, he is employing the most rigid methods in dealing with radical elements. The persecution has now reached its culminating point in the arrest and conviction of Denjiro Kotoku, his wife, and twenty-four other comrades, for "plotting against the imperial family."

The recent appeal of Mr. Katayama to the International Socialist Bureau in behalf of the persecuted Japanese radicals does not seem to have produced much effect. The Katsura Cabinet therefore considers its prey secure and is about to murder Kotoku and his comrades, hoping thus to exterminate the movement of discontent. It is now up to the liberty loving people of the civilized world as to whether the ruling classes of Japan shall succeed in the attempt to kill modern ideas in the persons of Kotoku and friends.

Denjiro Kotoku is a very able writer who has popularized Socialist, Anarchist, and anti-militarist ideas in Japan. He has translated many works of Karl Marx, Leo Tolstoy, and Peter Kropotkin, and has devoted a number of years to propagating the doctrines of these radical thinkers. For this he has been imprisoned many times, resulting in the loss of his health. Imprisonment did not kill him, however, and the government, fearing so able a man, has now decided to do the work itself.

Before the Russo-Japanese war Kotoku was one of the brilliant editorial writers on the influential Tokio daily, *Yorozu cho-ho*. His anti-militarist convictions, and the fearless expression of his sentiments regarding war, caused him to give up his position. He founded a radical monthly review, *Tatsu Kwa*. This paper, advocating revolutionary ideas, was soon suppressed by the authorities. Other radical magazines suffered the same fate, among them *Heimin Shimbun, Kunamato Hyo-ron, Shin-Shiho,* and *Nippon Heimin*. In the last review were published the resolutions passed at the International Anarchist Congress in Amsterdam, 1905.

Kotoku did not confine himself to the workers alone. In co-operation with Mme. Ho Chin and Comrade Lien Sun Soh he preached the ideas of Anarchism in the University of Tokio, among the Japanese as well as the Chinese students. The propaganda among the Chinese has been carried on through the columns of *Chien Yee* and the *Chinese Anarchist News.*

November tenth the following cable reached New York by way of the Associated Press:

The finding of the special court organized to try the plotters against the life of the Emperor was announced to-day. Twenty-six persons were found guilty, including the ringleader, Kotoku, and one woman, the wife of Kotoku. The court recommends 'the severest penalty under Clause 73,' which provides capital punishment for plotters against the imperial family.

Similar news came to England via Reuter's Agency. The information was first published by the Tokio daily, *Hochi Shinbun.* When the news appeared there was no question of its accuracy, for no paper in the Japanese Empire would have dared to circulate such a report without the consent of the authorities. Indeed, a most rigorous censorship had previously prevented the publication of the news, and when the *Hochi Shinbun* at last printed it, the paper said it assumed full responsibility for its statements.

Immediately after the news reached New York, a protest movement was inaugurated. The representatives of the Japanese government were interviewed, and these, while not denying the authenticity of the cable information, were diplomatically reticent on the matter. Now that the protest is assuming national proportions—hundreds of letters and telegrams of protest having been sent to the Japanese Ambassador at Washington—the Consul General at New York, Mr. K. Midzuno, deigned to send the following letter in reply to the inquiry of a person prominent in public life.

"Regarding the enclosed manuscript, I have to refer you to Mr. M. Honda, of the Oriental Information Agency, 35 Nassau street, City, who is better informed in this matter than I am. I beg, however, to say, that it is not correct that I have informed the local Anarchist people that the death penalty against Kotoku and his associates has been recommended by the Special Trial Court. In this respect Mr. Honda will be able to give you full

quotations of the constitution and laws relating to the construction of the courts. Judicial courts of Japan are too independent to admit of any political influence or pressure from outside, as well as the public opinion or as agitation of the irresponsible people.

Mr. Midzuno is not very accurate. It was not the local Anarchists, but Mr. Leonard D. Abbott, President of the Free Speech League, and of the Francisco Ferrer Association, and Prof. Bayard Boyesen, Secretary of the latter, who paid their respects to the gentleman.

The prospect of a great American protest is evidently not at all to the liking of this servant of the Mikado. Else it is difficult to explain why he exerted his persuasive powers to induce his callers to desist from the protest.

Mr. Motosada Zumoto, Chief of the Oriental Information Agency, has also endeavored, in a recent interview with the present writer, to pour oil on the troubled waters. This gentleman has now suddenly disappeared and his representative, Prof. M. Honda, in answer to the letter referred to above, sent the following reply:

Dear Sir:—In the absence of Mr. Zumoto away in Japan, I beg to acknowledge your letter addressed to him and assure you that we have no accurate facts to tell you concerning the matter. It seems to me, however, that what you state in your paper greatly exaggerates things and misrepresents Japan. Only we can tell you that Japan is a legally governed country, and whatever is done will be done in accordance with the provisions of the constitution and laws of the country, which, we think, are humane and just. I am, etc.,

M. HONDA.

P. S.:—

1.—Kotoku was not editor-in-chiew of the *Yorozu*, but a member on the staff.

2.—The organization of a special court is regulated in Article 59 of the Constitution promulgated more than twenty years ago.

3.—'Intellectual' is hardly a name to be given to Kotoku by us Japanese. There are several professors in the Imperial University and the Waseda University who uphold and propagate Socialist doctrines, but they are tolerated by the authorities and respected by the people. Kotoku's party are more of destroyers of social orders and moral stability of the country, and therefore even the opposition papers have no sympathy at all with him and his followers. On the contrary, the people in general are thoroughly in disgust with them—hence their difficulty to get any respectable work. If you outsiders agitate for those people, not only it does not help them, but will, I fear, induce the people of Japan to doubt the true friendship of your country.

Mr. Honda assures us that he has "no accurate facts" How then does he know that our statement of the case is "greatly exaggerated and misrepresents Japan"?

The Consul General, as well as the vanished Mr. Zumoto, tells us that the strict censorship in their country would make it impossible to discuss the case of the prisoners, so that even the Japanese people are kept in complete ignorance about the persecution.

We know only too well the meaning of Japanese censorship. Those who are unfamiliar with its great benefits, will recall the system of espionage practised by the government during the Russo-Japanese war. Certainly the foreign war correspondents had a fine opportunity of familiarizing themselves with the liberalism of the Japanese statesmen.

It is strange that Mr. Honda did not come to the rescue of his country when Mr. Katayama protested to the International Socialist Bureau and to the radical press of the Western world against the brutal persecution of the Socialists in Japan. Is it that the gentleman did not dare to charge that Mr. Katayama, himself a Japanese, also misrepresented his country?

As a matter of fact the intent of misrepresentation is all on the part of the officials representing Japan. It expresses itself in stamping the growing indignation against the sentence as exclusively Anarchistic, in order to discredit that movement and at the same time to blacken the character of Kotoku. No doubt there is method in this madness. But as we do not mean to invite the sympathy of the American capitalists to help save our friends, it does not matter.

True, Mr. Honda and his colleagues assure us that Socialism is being taught in the Imperial and in the Waseda University, but they forget to mention the kind of Socialism that is being inculcated in the students. It is not the international revolutionary Socialism of Marx and Engels, but a loyal conservative State Socialism of the weakest dye, a brand of Socialism which may be espoused by such men as Mallock, Leroy-Beaulieu, and Wesley Hill.

That the ruling class of Japan is out of sympathy with Denjiro Kotoku is readily understood. It has its reasons—evidently the same as the French bourgeoise has

in keeping Hervé in prison, the German in distrusting Bebel, or as our own ruling powers have for their dislike of Debs or Warren. The truly amusing part, however, is the reference in Mr. Honda's letter, that the Japanese people in general are in disgust with Kotoku and his comrades—"hence their difficulty to get any respectable work." Does Mr. Honda mean to imply that work on the editorial staff of the *Yorozu*—even if not in the capacity of editor-in-chief—or translating sociologic books is not respectable?

Poor Kotoku! He will have to be content to be classed with the Garrisons, Tolstoys, Mazzinis, yea, even with Jesus and Buddha, who also had no respectable work and with whom the ruling classes of their time were also disgusted.

Life is too precious to quibble over technicalities as to whether the death sentence has been "recommended" or pronounced. The fact is that Kotoku and friends are in immediate danger of their lives. That is sufficient for us to call, in the name of justice and international human solidarity, for a mighty protest. Dreyfus and Ferrer should serve us as a warning.

* * *

Just before going to press, we read the following cable in the daily papers:

TOKIO, December 8.—Homai and Uzawa, two distinguished Japanese lawyers, were threatened with instant execution to-day if they undertook to defend twenty-six Japanese radicals arrested recently on charges of conspiring to assassinate the Mikado and the royal family.

The government takes the ground that the twenty-six men are Anarchists and should be killed and that they are not, therefore, entitled to any defense.

The trials of the men will begin soon, and public excitement is increasing as the date of the trial approaches.

TOUR IMPRESSIONS

LEAVING Philadelphia on Friday, the 7th of October, I began my meeting with comrades and their work on that evening in New York, and from that day till the present writing (I date at Buffalo, the 18th of October) I have addressed nine meetings,—two in New York, one in Albany, one in Schenectady, one in Rochester, and four in Buffalo. In all these places I have to thank all comrades for kindly courtesy and fraternal service. But these, while most grateful to me personally, are of course not of public interest. What the readers of MOTHER EARTH will find interesting to know is, What has been the character and number of the attendance at such meetings, the amount of interest displayed, the reports given, and inquiries or suggestions as to the value of such lecturing tours.

In point of numbers, the first meeting arranged by Branch 145 of the Arbeiter Ring in New York, and the Ferrer Memorial meeting in Buffalo, were the best attended, the number present at these being something between 250 and 300, I should judge. Otherwise the attendance has averaged from 100 to 150 people. The smallest gathering was that in Schenectady; but, considering that the whole affair had been arranged in but three days, and that almost entirely by the efforts of one energetic comrade, the fact that the attendance was less than 100 was not to be wondered at,—rather the wonder was that it should have been as successful as it was.

As to the character of the attendance, it has been quite different in different places, according to the method adopted in advertising. In Rochester, where the matter of securing a hall was taken up by an American of the old type (not an Anarchist), the policy of subterfuge was resorted to. By advertising a mixed program, withholding the names of the speakers until the last day in the afternoon, the Common Council Chamber of the City Hall was secured for the meeting. The audience (of about 100) was somewhat mixed, but mostly American middle-class people, in appearance. Of course, the other speakers, finding themselves with an Anarchist sandwiched between them, failed to appear, and we had the meeting to ourselves. Now, it was perhaps a triumph

for an Anarchist to be enabled to invade the City Hall and speak on "Anarchism and American Traditions" in the Common Council Chamber; but I doubt the advisability of such a policy of subterfuge, and should much prefer open dealing.

In Buffalo, the policy of advertising also was to clothe me somehow with the mantle of Tolstoïan respectability, as a means of persuading the people to come to listen. Now, once for all, I am not a Tolstoïan, nor a non-resistant; and I hope I shall not in future be advertised as such. The result of securing "respectable halls," and a church in one instance, to speak in, was certainly to attract a so-called "respectable" audience; among the persons present at the lectures, especially on education, were some teachers, and one member of the School Board of Buffalo. But there was a lamentable lack of working people present,—they were middle-class business or professional people in the main. The only meeting where I found myself addressing working people was that to which I was invited after my arrival here, which had been arranged by the Socialists, and at which the principal speaker was Robert Steiner, editor of the *Arbeiter-Zeitung*. There, at last, were the industrial workers, the soldiers of the factory. To-night I am to deliver a final address before what will probably be a small gathering of intellectual faddists calling themselves the International Progressive Thought League, in the parlors of the Iroquois Hotel. This I have agreed to do, for the sake of saying to the faces of the rich, for once in my life, what I think their society is. But I consider it utterly useless as propaganda.

Of the meeting in Albany I can not say more than that it appeared to be a quietly sympathetic gathering of people with more or less of Socialistic leanings, of mixed nationalities. The New York audiences were of course Jewish, being arranged by the Arbeiter Ring. So much for the character of the attendance. As to the interest displayed in the matter of the lecture on Modern Education, I have numerous inquiries as to whether or no it can be printed to fill the demand, now growing constantly stronger for dissemination of thought concerning changes in education ideas. I am inclined to think myself that something much more constructive would be of greater

service. I must say, as a teacher, that I have been extremely dissatisfied with the vagueness of the pamphlets issued by the Ferrer Association, and am anxiously awaiting something much more definite. I believe the best move will be the publication in English of the primary books used by Ferrer in the Modern Schools of Spain; for the evils of our own system lie principally in the elementary schools, in my opinion.

Several teachers have expressed to me their agreement with the criticisms and suggestions in my lecture. I think perhaps a practical move might be for the Ferrer Groups to obtain the list of the teachers in the various cities, and send the pamphlet "The Rational Education of Children" to them by mail (though postage makes it costly). While the pamphlet is inadequate, it might stimulate thought and inquiry.

One gentleman, a Socialist, assured me that if he could obtain a definite idea of how to work, could get the proper books, etc., he would now open a school of the kind in Buffalo; he is quite positive of the demand for it. The same demand exists in Philadelphia and Chicago. Numerous inquiries are beginning to come from the far west. I expect to meet it everywhere I go. The great need is for teachers who will know what they want to do.

Aside from this interest, while I cannot now express a fixed opinion on so short experience, my impression is that our present propaganda (if there is any) is a woeful mistake. I am more than ever convinced that our work should be with the workers, not with the bourgeoisie. If these latter choose to come, very well, let them. But I should never approve of this seeking after "respectable halls," "respectable neighborhoods," "respectable people," etc., etc., into which it appears we have somehow degenerated. The chief result seems to be a lot of shallow flattery dealt to the speaker at the close of the meeting, by people who have no interest and no intent ever to take the speaker's words as serious things to be acted upon.

Comrades, we have gone upon a wrong road. Let us get back to the point that our work should be chiefly among the poor, the ignorant, the brutal, the disinherited, the men and women who do the hard and brutalizing

work of the world. If we cannot do this, if our gospel has come to be a gospel for the "respectable," then I, for one, shall renounce it. But I do not think it has; the fault is in us, not in Anarchism.

The Socialists have thus much advantage over us; they have not forgotten that their teaching is primarily a teaching for the common man. Let us remember that ours is also.*

Greetings,

VOLTAIRINE DE CLEYRE.

A REJOINDER

IT is not often that I take issue with my friend Voltairine de Cleyre. But there are a few points in her report which I cannot permit to pass unchallenged.

Comrade Voltairine states that she speaks of the propaganda ("if there be any") "from short experience and impression." Yet she finds it necessary to emphasize the "seeking of respectable halls, respectable neighborhoods, etc." I have always known her to be cautious in passing opinions, and I am therefore surprised that a mere impression should warrant her in suggesting that we are seeking for "respectable halls, respectable people," etc.

The fact that the man who arranged a meeting for her in Rochester (by the way, *not* an Anarchist) has tried to sandwich her between bourgeois speakers, or that she was advertised in Buffalo as a Tolstoian Anarchist, is by no means proof that we are all following the same lines, or that "we have gone woefully wrong."

I have traveled the length and breadth of this country for many years; have been to the Coast four times within a short period, and I can assure Comrade Voltairine that no one connected with my work has sought for "respectable" patronage. Of course, if by "respectable halls" is meant clean halls, I plead guilty to the charge. I confess that I prefer such places, partly for sanitary reasons, but mainly because the workers themselves—the American workers—will not go to a dilapidated, dirty hall in an

* For lack of space, the second part of this report will appear in the next issue.

obscure quarter of the city. In that respect the people Voltairine wants to reach are probably the most bourgeois in America. I have again convinced myself of it the other day in Baltimore, where the American workers would not attend my meetings because the hall was in the "nigger" district. Strange as it may seem, the people who came were, what Voltairine would call, respectables.

I agree with our Comrade that our work should be among "the poor, the ignorant, the brutal, the disinherited men and women." I for one have worked with them and among them for twenty-one years. I therefore feel better qualified than Voltairine to say what may be accomplished in their ranks. After all, my friend knows the masses mainly from theory. I know them from years of contact in and out of the factory. Just because of that knowledge I do not believe that our work should be only with them. And that for the following reasons:

The pioneers of every new thought rarely come from the ranks of the workers. Possibly because the economic whip gives the latter little opportunity to easily grasp a truth. Besides, it is an undisputed fact that those who have but their chains to lose cling tenaciously to them.

The men and women who first take up the banner of a new, liberating idea generally emanate from the so-called respectable classes. Russia, Germany, England, and even America bear me out in this. The first conspiracy against the Russian despot originated in his own palace, with the Decembrists representing the nobility of Russia. The intellectual pioneers of revolutionary and Anarchist ideas in Germany came from the "respectables." The women who are to-day enduring the hunger strike for their ideas, in England, are also not from the ranks of the workers. The same holds good in regard to almost every country and every epoch.

Far be it from me to belittle the poor, the ignorant, the disinherited. Certainly they are the greatest force, if only they could be awakened from their lethargy. But I maintain that to limit one's activities to them is not only a mistake, but also contrary to the spirit of Anarchism. Unlike other social theories, Anarchism builds not on classes, but on men and women. I may be mistaken, but I have always been of the opinion that Anar-

chism calls to battle all libertarian elements as against authority.

That to limit oneself to propaganda exclusively among the oppressed does not always bring desired results, is borne out by more than one historical proof. Our Chicago comrades propagated only among the workers; in fact, cheerfully gave their lives for the oppressed. Where were the latter during the eighteen terrible months of the judicial farce? Were not the Chicago Anarchists shamefully betrayed by the very organization which Parsons and Spies helped to build up—the Knights of Labor? And has not the spirit of that time drifted into conservative channels, as represented by the American Federation of Labor? The majority of its members, I am sure, would hesitate not a moment to relegate Voltairine or myself to the fate of our martyred comrades.

John Most worked for twenty-five years exclusively among the workers. He certainly never sought for "respectables." Indeed, the poorer and more wretched the atmosphere, the more eloquently Most spoke. Where are the results of his propaganda? Why was the man so utterly forsaken in the last years of his activities? Why cannot the *Freiheit,* in spite of all desperate efforts, be maintained?

I think the answer to these questions can easily be found in the very thing Voltairine so fervently advocates—the propaganda exclusively among the workers. Yes, that is, in my opinion, the reason why we have in the past made so little headway. The economic factor is, I am sure, very vital. Possibly that accounts for the fact that a great many radicals lose their ideals the moment they succeed economically. Voltairine surely knows as well as I that hundreds of Anarchists, Socialists, and rabid revolutionists who were ardent workers twenty years ago are now very respectable, indeed much more respectable than the very people to whom Voltairine objects. That, however, should not discourage the true propagandist from working among the disinherited, but it should teach him the vital lesson that spiritual hunger and unrest are often the most lasting incentives.

Anarchism excludes no one and gives no one a mortgage on truth and beauty. Above all, Anarchism, as I understand it, leaves the propagandist free to choose his

or her own manner of activity. The criterion must at all times be his or her individual judgment, experience, and mental leanings. In the Anarchist movement there is room for every one who earnestly desires to work for the overthrow of authority, physical as well as mental.

EMMA GOLDMAN.

❦ ❦ ❦

WHAT IS WORTH WHILE?

By ADELINE CHAMPNEY.

(*Continuation.*)

When God vanishes from the skies he takes a great many things with him, some of which are not commonly recognized as pertaining to the God-idea. Not only does this departure into the limbo of past superstition remove the authority of bibles and churches and temples, and the divine authorities of priests and rulers, but it also removes all ultimate authorities whatever, and takes the sanctity from all principles of conduct. The departure of God places man face to face with the material universe, and men face to face with each other. With the abolition of the law-giver, all laws disappear. The term "laws of nature" shows how our very language is so tinctured with the teleological conception that we have difficulty in choosing exact terms for our knowledge. The so-called "laws of nature" are merely the undeviating principles in accordance with which the universe of substance in motion continues its unceasing and eternal change. Forms appear and disappear, phenomena come and go, but in all the universe is found neither beginning nor end, neither first nor last; neither good nor evil, right nor wrong, virtue nor sin, justice nor injustice. To none of these terms is there any absolute meaning whatever. All are man-made distinctions, varying with time and place, differing among races and among individuals. To the history of the human race, then, the Man Awake must go in his search for the meaning of Duty. For development proceeds ever from the simple to the complex, and the basis of sane thinking is found in the study of development. To gain an adequate

comprehension of anything one must understand its development. And nothing will so aid in clearing away superstition and traditional prejudice in matters social and ethical as a survey of human history; not merely recorded history but that great story of the prehistoric man which science resurrects for us. What does this history say to us of Duty? Just this: bereft of all theological and metaphysicial sanctities, all the human institutions which have demanded obedience from men are seen to rest ultimately on the power to impose themselves on individuals. Religion, government, all property privilege, the marriage institution—all originated in force, and are maintained by force. Back of every "duty" stands a club. Does one "owe" anything to compulsion? Can a "duty" be imposed on one, without one's own consent? Brought into this world by no act of one's own, does one inherit the obligations assumed by one's ancestors, much less those forced upon them? The sole justification of every authority is its power to enforce obedience; and therein lies the justification of every rebellion. Whatever obedience may be exacted, whatever allegiance may be voluntarily rendered, there is no obligation whatsoever. Duty is but a metaphysical cobweb. It has no foundation in fact. "But conscience? Surely I cannot deny the admonition of conscience!" Have you studied the conscience of a savage? Have you made a comparative analysis of conscience among varying peoples and at various periods of history? Have you ever observed the conscience of a very little child? The dictates of conscience are purely and simply a matter of education. Conscience itself is neither more nor less than one's satisfaction in himself. A clear conscience is the pleasureable sense of self-approval; a guilty conscience, the disquieting sense of self-censur This is the reality of conscience; the grounds for the satisfaction or dissatisfaction lie in our beliefs and principles, and are, largely, a product of our social heredity. They may be well or ill founded. One has only to review the many deeds that have been done "for conscience' sake" to perceive how utterly unreliable it is as a "moral" guide. Of the fetish,

Duty, with Conscience as its private watchman, investigation leaves not one shred. It follows the gods, the heavens and the hells, and all the spooks that infest intellectual darkness. Not so with conscience as a profound sense of self-judgment. That is an attribute of the mind which is of inestimable value. To the Man Awake it becomes a veritable court of last appeal. There is no greater honor to win than the approval of our own souls. There is no greater faith to keep than faith with ourselves.

There is an idea prevalent among the religious that if once the religious and moral restraints were removed, men would fly off at a tangent, fling open all the hitherto forbidden doors, and plunge into a carnival of crime. If they should do so, what would be to blame, their new-found freedom or their former training? Have all the ages of religion and morality produced no moral sense? The alarmists indict their own institutions! Occasionally one hears of preachers sons who "go wrong"—sometimes it is the preacher himself! Sometimes there are children who have been brought up in the sternest and strictest of homes, who, on coming of age, plunge into dissipation, perhaps ruining health and even life. But does any thinking person blame their coming of age? Is it not plain that their religious training has not given them moral stamina, or a rational view of life? That it has weakened their resistance by the constant suggestion of weakness and dependence, and given them only an arbitrary rule of conduct and not a vital purpose in life? Believing themselves "vile worms of the dust," they act the part!

No. The Man Awake is not going off at a tangent. The conduct of life, now that he no longer gets it ready-made, has become of vastly greater importance to him. It is his own concern, now; he will ask himself as never before—"What is really worth while?" And the answer must be a personal one. Not that out of his inner consciousness he will dig up a set of rules and precepts unrelated to the thought and feeling of the world about him. Not every man is called to blaze a new trail. But he will make sure, when he takes the road, that it leads in his direction, and that he is not merely following in the footsteps of his grandsires. Nor is it needful that he

travel alone. He may go hand-in-hand with a comrade, he may join himself to a company, he may even follow a leader; but the comrades must be of his own choosing, related in thought and purpose, and not mere accidents of the wayside; and he will see to it that he is driven by no compulsion save the impulse of his own nature.

Let it not be thought that I disparage ideals. It is not the Ideal but the deification of it that stultifies growth. The leaders of men are always idealists; all the periods of great moral and social uplift have been periods of idealism. If there be any exclusively human characteristic, essentially distinguishing the man from his fellow-animals, it is this power to frame ideal conceptions, to picture better things and to strive toward them. Many of the finest types of manhood which society has produced have been men of vision as well as of insight, ardent dreamers of dreams, with the daring to follow their dreams. These have been strong men, men of striking personality, of resolute self-determination, these idealists. When a man loses himself, when he becomes subservient to an ideal; when he no longer possesses it, but deifies it so that it takes possession of him, then he is no longer a man but a shadow; and his ideal, a spook.

Out of the past have come down to us many maxims and precepts, most of which are so permeated with theology or so befogged with metaphysics as to render them utterly worthless in a modern world. The Man Awake does not despise the Wisdom of the Ages, but there is also a Folly of the Ages, and he reserves the right to make his own selection. He accepts no maxims on a say-so, even though the say-so be a repetition of twice ten thousand years. These shreds of old wisdom make an interesting study, revealing as they do the stuff of which human conduct has been woven, the woof of the fabric of social custom and usage. But to-day they are mostly rags, rags.

Among them there is one which seems to have an immortal life. It is found in many lands and many tongues, varying but slightly in form; and so general and unquestioned is its acceptance as an efficient guide to social conduct that even an iconoclast hesitates to lay violent hands on the Golden Rule. But we recognize no exemptions; nothing escapes the test. "Whatsoever ye

would that men should do unto you, do ye even so to them" might be good sense in a world where all men were alike, possessed of identical needs, desires and tastes. If anyone thinks it applicable in a world of individualities, let him try it out in his daily living. If he attempts to apply it literally he will speedily discover the arrogance of the assumption that other men are like himself, that what pleases him will be acceptable to them. If he endeavors to disregard the letter but carry out the spirit of it, he will soon be engulfed in the fathomless task of determining what others, actuated by the Golden Rule, would do unto him with a view of having him do so even unto them! And at the best it is not so practical as the familiar "Put yourself in his place." Good suggestions, both of them, but as adequate rules of conduct, such as the Golden Rule is on every hand assumed to be,—childish, utterly childish! In the negative form attributed to Confucius it becomes less fraught with danger and discord. "Do not unto others as you would not that they should do unto you." Where others are involved, to refrain from action has this advantage: at the worst one becomes guilty of neglect, but never of aggression. But the moment one begins to "do things" unto others, he is on dangerous ground. The Golden Rule, lauded as a social panacea, makes a really pretty plaything for babies, but is more inoccuous when written in Chinese!

Another idol must be shattered in the course of this inquiry, the ideal of self-sacrifice. Grim and grisly rise the phantoms of its antecedents: living animals torn asunder, human blood poured out, on the altars of the gods; self-tortures, flagellations, loathsome mortifications of the flesh in the cells and hovels of monks and saints,—a gruesome crew! Life and love and treasure offered up to please and placate Deity; and the crowning sacrifice of Deity himself in the person of his son to satisfy his own wrath and save a sinning but well-beloved and eternally damned people! It is doubtless this sacrificial atonement of the ancient churches which has passed into the metaphysical concept of self-sacrifice as a laudable and beautiful thing, a holy and righteous thing, a kind of sublimated duty. Self-mutilations, mortifications of the flesh, are not all in the past. The religious frenzy of the old-time saint is rare, and we call it by its right name

now. But in its more subtle form sacrifice unto sanctification is not uncommon among high-strung nervous temperaments. No one can estimate the injury to health, the distortions of mind and character, and that among the finer, more highly developed types of men and women, particularly women. No one can know the loss to society of strong sane womanhood and motherhood, from this sacrifice. Moreover, the strong give place to the weak, the efficient spend their strength in ministering to the inefficient, youth sterilizes itself in the service of age, the fit waste themselves to preserve the unfit, until, viewing the social misery of it, one could almost welcome the restraining hand of a stern but wholesome paganism. For, mark you, for all this sacrifice the world is scarcely the kinder. Indeed, as Oscar Wilde so keenly says, "It takes a thoroughly selfish age like our own to deify self-sacrifice." "Living for others," we say, but deliver us from the arrogance, the insufferable despotism of many of those who insist on living for us. I have seen whole families tyrannized over, kept uncomfortable for years, even disrupted, by one member whose whole purpose in life was to "live for"that family. "Living for others," we say, and we thrill with admiration; but when one really lives for others, what happens? A spoiled life on the one hand, and spoiled character on the other. Who does not know the unselfish, self-forgetful, overworked mother and the utterly selfish, inefficient children? Self-sacrifice is an abnormality, a demoralizing thing. It is not only an injury to self, it is an insult to its object. Who of us has not felt this? Have you never been made the object of a sacrifice? Have you felt "properly" grateful for it? In spite of your appreciation of the kindness of intent, have you not found yourself half-conscious of a sort of sneaking resentment? Have you not forced yourself to be demonstrative and thankful, when you were secretly inclined to go away and sulk? Yet you did not wish to be ungrateful. Ungrateful! "Ingratitude is the independence of the soul." The object of a sacrifice, like the object of charity, is placed in a position of weakness, of inefficiency and dependence, and every sturdy soul resents this to the core.

On the other hand, have you not been thrilled into grateful responsiveness upon being made the object of

some spontaneous act of affection and thoughtfulness—some expression of the real self of that other? It may have cost nothing, it may have been a real pleasure to the other,—and that is precisely why you valued it. It was a genuine tribute to some excellence in you which attracted it. It is ever the spontaneous things that count. It does not always seem fair that the utmost endeavor of one person should count for less than the spontaneous, uncalculated action of another, but it does. We appreciate the effort, but it is spontaneity which attracts us and gives us joy. Being is more beautiful than acting; play is more beautiful than work. It is only when work *is* play that it is beautiful, when the worker enjoys it and puts himself into it. Nothing is beautiful which does not give joy, and all effort that does not tend toward joy is wasted.

(*To be continued.*)

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ANNOUNCEMENT

OUR annual tour has but begun, and we are already confronted with some of the usual "pleasures."

In Baltimore, where we addressed five meetings, we barely escaped police interference. The scare was circulated, with the inevitable result of keeping people away. Still, the visit there was gratifying from a propaganda view, especially since the press was remarkably fair, in both the interviews and reports of the lectures.

During sixteen years no attempt was made to present Anarchism in Baltimore to an English-speaking audience. During four days every paper in that city discussed Anarchism, so that no one who read could have failed learning the truth, for the first time, about our ideas.

In Washington, D. C., the police have successfully terrorized the hall-keepers. One cannot really blame the Capitol City if it dreads free speech. Imagine the stench that would follow the uncovering of the corruption in that town: The White House, the Senate, Congress, and the Supreme Court. An epidemic would surely result, hence the quarantine against truth.

Comrade Reitman accomplished the desired object through the papers, in laying bare the fact that in the city of American "justice" Free Speech walks about with a gag in her mouth.

Indianapolis, too, is in the same condition. Arrogant police are its dictators. But from the interest expressed through some of the papers, there are strong indications that the police could be taught their place, if we had but the necessary means to begin a free speech campaign.

We beg our friends to bear in mind that the struggle for free expression can never cease so long as that right continues to depend on the good will and bad taste of police officials.

We begin our pilgrimage across the country January 5th, after the great Ferrer meeting in Webster Hall, which has been arranged to inaugurate the Francisco Ferrer Center and Schools in New York City.

We open in:

Rochester, N. Y., January 6.
Buffalo, N. Y., January 8 and 9.

Pittsburg, Pa., January 11, 12, and 13.
Cleveland, O., January 15 and 16.
Columbus, O., January 18, 19, and 20.
Cincinnati, O., January 21, 22, and 23.

The latter part of January we expect to devote to work in and about St. Louis.

Places of meetings, and subjects, will be announced later.

EMMA GOLDMAN.

BOOKS RECEIVED

ON THE ENFORCEMENT OF LAW IN CITIES. Brand Whitlock. The Golden Rule Publishing Co. Toledo, Ohio.

REPRESENTATION AND THE STATE. Guy A. Aldred. Bakunin Press, London, England.

MILITARISM AND REVOLUTION. Guy A. Aldred. Bakunin Press, London, England.

THE HOUSE OF BONDAGE. Reginald Wright Kauffman. Moffat, Yard & Co., New York.

THOMAS PAINE, THE PATRIOT. A Outram Sherman. Paine National Historical Association, New York.

AOS CAMPONEZES. Ricardo Mella. Biblioteca de A. Sementeira. Lisbon, Portugal.

DROPSY OR THE DESIGN ARGUMENT BUBBLE. The Truth Seeker Co., New York.

SAC AU DOS! Jean Conti and Jean Gallien. A. Quillard, Paris, France.

LA GRÈVE ROUGE. Jean Conti and Jean Gallien. Société Moderne d'Edition Théatrale, Paris, France.

FRANCISCO FERRER. R. ROCKER. The Worker's Friend Pub. Co., London, England.

EDWARD CARPENTER. Pierre Ramus. W. Schonteten, Bruxelles, Belgium.

FRANCISCO FERRER—HIS LIFE, WORK, AND MARTYRDOM. Francisco Ferrer Association, New York.

O ENSIONO RACIONALISTA Dr. Mauricio de Medeiros. Associação Escóla Moderna. Rio de Janeiro, Brazil.

BURNING DAYLIGHT. Jack London. The Macmillan Company, New York. Price $1.50.

SINGHIOZZI E SOGGHIGNI. Ricardo Cordiferro. L'Araldo Italiano, New York.

DIE TYRANNEI DER SOCIALDEMOKRATIE. Saint-Georges de Bouhélier. Bernhard Zack, Berlin, Germany.

THE PRIMARY EDUCATION OF CRIPPLED CHILDREN. Douglas C. McMurtrie, New York.

DOROTHY'S IDEA. Douglas C. McMurtrie, New York.

SOCIALISM AND PROGRESS. Bruce Calvert. Griffith, Ind.

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Patriotism. By Emma Goldman	$0.05
What I Believe. By Emma Goldman	.05
The Modern School. By Francisco Ferrer	.05
Anarchy Versus Socialism. By W. C. Owen	.05
God and the State. By Michael Bakunin	.15
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